

Carangas-  
 Chipaya  
 Modern Quechua SE24  
 Inca SE13

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The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

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\*796 there they are priostes, and in eight days of orgy the fruits of one  
554 year of work are devoured."  
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\*796 One cannot give the officiant of Čipaya festivals the title of  
791 "magician," although the Indians designate him by the name of  
yatiri (magician in Aymara). The personage who operates at the  
sacrifices, who prepares the masterly mixtures offered as libations  
to the demons, and who says the prayers, is not at all like a  
medicine-man /given in English/. He is generally an old Indian  
who has maintained the traditions of the past. Beyond the service  
which he renders the younger generation thanks to his knowledge  
of the ritual, he fills no particular office and enjoys no more esteem  
791 than any other elderly man. It is not, however, impossible that  
my friend, Anacleto Mullu, was actually a real yatiri. This is  
only a supposition on my part after having seen him officiate at  
several festivals and having admired the competency with which  
he accomplished his task. The Indians frequently pointed him out  
to me as the man who best knew the prayers to the mal'ku. He  
also had some talent as a fortune-teller and was a past master of the  
791 art of "reading in the coca." I do not know, however, if his skill  
756 was called upon in cases of illness. The only cure at which I was  
present was made by a Čipaya whom I had never seen officiate in  
any festival and whom I would never have suspected was versed in  
these superstitious practices.

\*796 Espíritu Mamani, a bearded giant with the head of a faun,  
799 made himself noticed by his zeal during festivals. His functions  
159 were, however, limited to reciting prayers, which for the most  
part had a marked Christian character. He discharged this duty  
with a fervor and enthusiasm which made me doubt his mental  
equilibrium. Among all the Čipaya he alone was animated with  
exuberant life. He appeared truly possessed by an internal demon  
when with half-shut eyes he prayed as if in ecstasy. Immediately  
afterward he would wink and laugh with an air of complicity, as  
if he had just pulled a good trick. He was affable and pleasant in  
spite of this, but fickle, unapproachable, and as wild as a forest god.

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\*796 He lived far from the tribe in a place called Yunguyo. He was  
 72 never seen in the village. He appeared only for the festivals,  
 159 strangely dressed and reciting his prayers without stop, kneeling,  
 rising, and offering libations with a half-comical, half-tragic  
 pomposity. He was treated with a certain respect due to his art,  
 and I believe that the Chipaya insisted on having him with them  
 during all their festivals no matter how small. He animated them  
 [781] and gave them the religious character which they would often have  
 lacked without him.

159 /343/ Anacleto Mullu, of whom I previously spoke, was the  
 791 most intelligent of all the Chipaya with whom I had dealings. His  
 small, lively eyes sparkled with a mocking gleam, and he never  
 missed an opportunity to tell a joke, even an improper one. His  
 facial mobility was such that he could immediately abandon his  
 jovial air to take on a grave and serious expression, as if he were  
 the most respectable of men.

## Festivals and Rites

\*796 The taking of office of the new authorities (January 1).  
 622 The first of January, the day on which the transmission of  
 powers is carried out in Chipaya, is the occasion of a festival, the  
 only one in which only rare pagan elements are mingled. I shall  
 mention a few of its details which illustrate the attitude of the  
 [354] Chipaya toward the Catholic religion. That morning the small  
 church of the tribe had been abundantly lighted; lamps or tallow  
 candles were burning on all the altars and fragrant smoke was rising  
 from all the censers. The outgoing alcaldes had gathered beside  
 their successors near the altar, and a kind of sacristan was fumigating  
 [152] them copiously. Some women squatting behind the men were  
 sobbing and sighing as though their hearts were broken. They  
 were only quiet when small baked clay llamas which they had  
 placed on the altar were distributed; they kissed them and fondled

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\*778 house and his patio. A few pinches of maize flour were thrown  
 \*796 in the hole.

● [797] /386/ The yatiri then walked around those present to greet  
 [596] them according to all the rules of Chipaya etiquette. The master  
 of the flock and his wife offered him some alcohol and coca and  
 invited their relatives and friends to take some of the leaves which  
 they had spread out on the ground. They drank and chewed for  
 [197] half an hour without exchanging a word and with all the gloomy  
 gravity to which these Indians are accustomed. Next a stuffed  
 lamb decorated with wool pompoms — the samiri — was brought  
 out of a pile of material which enveloped it; the wife of the owner  
 of the sheepfold added several supplementary tufts of red wool to  
 it and all approached it in turn to offer a libation on its body, to  
 offer it coca, and to recite a long prayer for it. It was then buried  
 in the hole along with khoa, "copal," sprigs of rosemary, and a  
 few pinches of coca which the Officiant threw with each lump of  
 earth, continuously murmuring his prayers. His movements were  
 imitated by the spectators, who rivaled him in zeal.

The hole was not entirely full. At one side of it on a small  
 tablecloth the instigator of the festival had piled up the innumerable  
 products with magical qualities which the Chipaya customarily  
 offer to their divinities. The yatiri, after having subjected them  
 \*778 to a detailed review, prepared paper sacks in which he put first  
 \*796 pink, yellow, and green lozenges, pieces of pink and white  
 791 candies, and lastly sprigs of rosemary and some starch.

\*778 He then proceeded to a minute selection from the ten to 12  
 \*796 colored mineral powders which had been put at his disposal. He  
 791 kept only four: a deep green, a light green, a violet, and a  
 822 brown. He poured them into separate little paper horns, with the  
 exception of the light green, which he mixed with the brown.  
 These colors undoubtedly had a special significance to judge from  
 the attention which the yatiri gave to their selection and from the  
 explanations which he gave to the master of the place. I have  
 every reason to suppose that these four colors correspond to the

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778 vegetables, the knowledge and acquisition of which means the  
 796 most to the Čipaya. The green represents the fields, the brown  
 821 quinoa seeds, the violet certain parts of quinoa and cañave leaves.

With some mutton fat the yatiri modeled a lamb to whose neck he attached a tuft of wool. He put it in a bowl into which those present threw coca, and he offered libations to it and recited a long prayer where wishes for the prosperity of the flock were mingled with enumerations of the mai'ku and invocations to the Pačamama. Now taking pig fat the yatiri encrusted it with portions of gold leaf and stuck dried flowers in it. The choice of the flowers was as meticulous as that of the colored powders. When the slice of pig fat was covered with them, /387/ the wife of the master of the enclosure wrapped it with a tuft of red wool. The sheep made of fat, the flowers stuck in the pig fat, and the sacks of mineral powders were placed in a tin box and sprinkled with coca leaves. Among those present arose a real competition as to who would contribute the most coca leaves and recite his prayers with the most fervor. Then the bottle of eau-de-vie was uncorked, and all drank from it, beginning with the Officiant, without neglecting libations and the customary prayers before each bumper.

A few drops of alcohol were sprinkled on the offerings, to which the following things were added: llicta, candies, incense, khoa, copal, and sugar. The box was buried even with the ground and covered with a slab. The whole thing was carefully concealed under the ground, and the yatiri uttered a long prayer addressed, as previously, to the Pačamama and protecting demons on the site of the samiri. The ceremony ended, like all the Čipaya ceremonies, with mutual invitations to drink and chew.

231 Religious practices relating to putting domestic animals to  
 782 death.

When the Čipaya slaughter an animal in order to eat the meat, they perform a ritual which is in every respect analogous to the one which I have so often described in connection with sacrifices. The sheep or the pig receives an offering of coca and

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The fortune-teller is satisfied to chew the leaves<sup>2</sup> with which he has been provided for his trouble.

Magical treatment of illness.

278 The medical science of the Indians of the Andean altiplano is very extensive. To be convinced of this one need only go inspect the sector of any native market whatsoever occupied by the chifles, or vendors of medicinal plants. The abundance of vegetable, animal, and mineral products, carefully sorted out in small boxes, which they offer is extraordinary and deserves a long, methodical enumeration. If one considers that each of these substances, in addition to its special properties, also enters in the composition of anomalous and varied mixtures, one will have an idea of the number of medical recipes which the Indians of the altiplano have at their disposal. To tell the truth, many of the treatments recommended by the yatiri are strictly magical in nature; a number of the medicaments which they prescribe, however, are recommendable for their real and effective qualities. The Institute of Ethnology at the University of Tucumán possesses a very complete collection of these products and it is hoped that a study of them will some day be carried out by a pharmacist who is also a botanist. There can be no doubt that such an investigation, already begun by Nordenskiöld (1), has more than one

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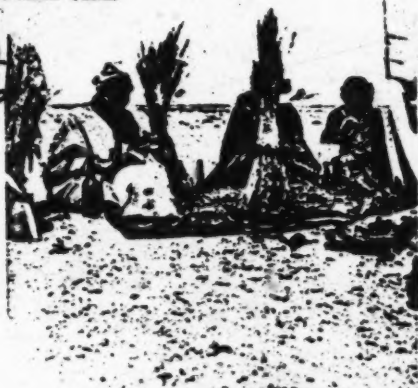
1. Nordenskiöld (Erland). "Recettes magiques médicales du Pérou et de la Bolivie /Magical Medical Recipes of Peru and Bolivia/, " Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Paris, New Series, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 153-174.

surprise in store and /389/ will open new perspectives on the medical knowledge of the Indians of Bolivia.

2 [i.e., coca leaves--Analyst]

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Plate XIII

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A. — Festival of the samiri: the alferez and alfereza behind the sacred sheaves.



B. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku:

[791]



C. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Čal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.



D. — Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

796 paper. Llama fetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an  
 782 Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the  
 Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

778 The mallku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed  
 cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in  
 [616] isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety  
 has its own mallku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which  
 are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the mallku and that of the samiri follow the same  
 pattern.

796 Every feast is sponsored by an *alférez* and his wife, who are the  
 782 masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three  
 animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama,  
 [527] a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a *yatiri*—a man who knows  
 [91] the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered.  
 The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds  
 of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the  
 cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles,  
 which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and  
 include a great many magic ingredients (*chicha*, "sevarios," that is,  
 mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and  
 silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately  
 with prayers to the Saints, the mallku, and Pachamama. Grease  
 balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pach-  
 [344] amama. *Khoa*, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special  
 incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with  
 ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and  
 cheese are displayed by the *alférez* and carried during the dances. The  
 prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertil-  
 ity, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers,  
 though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by  
 [527] Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal  
 [616] meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed  
 and prayers recited.

796 Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by  
 [616] the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths  
 of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit  
 of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs,  
 [535] dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound  
 of *queñas* accompany every feast.

782 Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its  
 [344] blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions,  
 such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-